

News- SOCIAL Letter ACTION

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Warns Against "Stockholm Appeal"

The Commission on the Churches and International Affairs, a commission of the World Council of Churches, has addressed a letter to Christian leaders urging them not to associate themselves with the so-called "Stockholm Appeal" because it fits in closely with the Soviet proposals in the United Nations Atomic Commission which have been rejected by the Commission by an overwhelming majority. The letter was sent out by Dr. O. Frederick Nolde, Commission director, following a meeting of the executive committee of the Commission at Toronto, July 3-5, 1950.

The "Stockholm Appeal" grew out of a World Congress of the Partisans of Peace held in Stockholm in March 1950. Headquarters have been established in Paris, New York, Warsaw, and other cities. In Poland, according to *Poland Today*, the monthly propaganda magazine of the Polish government, published in New York, the "Appeal" was taken up by all sections of the Polish people and over 12 million signatures secured within the first 12 days. The circulation of the "Appeal" in this country has been sponsored by organizations and groups generally designated as "Communist front" groups. A number of well-known Americans have allowed their names to be used in connection with the circulation of the "Appeal" in this country.

Dr. Nolde's letter points out that the proposals of the "Appeal" diverge seriously from the position held by Christians. In the "Appeal" outlawry and control are stated as separate objectives, when as a matter of fact they are inseparable. The term "strict international control" is the term used by the Soviet representative to describe the Russian proposal for national ownership and management, as against the Baruch plan, favored by a majority of the Commission, for U.N. ownership of all fissionable materials and manufacturing plans, with *continuous inspection* (as against the Russian proposal for *periodic inspection*), and special investigations when suspicions of violation arise. The "Stockholm Appeal," therefore, is an appeal in support of the Soviet proposals for atomic control as against the plan favored by the majority of the Commission.

Says Dr. Nolde, "it seems clear that our churches should not associate themselves with the 'Stockholm Appeal.' In speaking on the atomic crisis they should guard against the possibility that their utterances may be used for propagandist purposes quite different from these that

Korea Shakes The World

The attack by the North Koreans upon the Republic of Korea in the South on June 25 and subsequent events related to this aggression have shaken deeply the whole world, but perhaps no other part of it so deeply as America. Whether this is to remain an isolated action or to become only the first skirmish in World War III one cannot dare to prophesy now. The decision is probably up to Russia, since the United States is fully committed while Russia has remained sufficiently behind the scenes that she can abandon Korea without diplomatic loss of face if she chooses to do so.

Two results of this action are most obvious. The first is that these events, particularly the crushing military defeat thus far suffered by the USA-UN forces, have released fear bordering on terror and a rising tide of hatred in the United States. This is not directed solely at Russia or the Communists; much of it is directed against ourselves. The second, and brighter result is that for the first time in history nations are carrying military action under a flag, along with their own, symbolizing a world organization.

German High School Student Program

Under date of July 19 the Department of Social Welfare addressed a letter to a number of brotherhood pastors and leaders advising that the State Department and the Cultural Affairs Department of the AMG had arranged for selected German high school students to come to the U.S. for one year of schooling and that through the Church of the Brethren Service Commission these students were being placed in American homes. The Disciples of Christ were invited to share in this project in cooperation with the Brethren Service Commission.

The response to the letter was very encouraging, but when the students arrived it was found that the demand for them was so great that they were practically all placed before our inquirers could complete the necessary arrangements and negotiations. We are advised, however, by W. Harold Row, secretary of BSC, that plans are under consideration to bring over a group of Austrian students later this year to begin with the second semester in American high schools. It is expected that decisions on this matter will be reached early in September, at which time, if the project develops, the Department will get in touch with all inquirers.

J.A.C.

they intend. Outlawing atomic weapons is not enough. Peace requires workable means of restraining every aggressor, no matter whether he uses atomic or other instruments of destruction, or measures of coercion or infiltration. Any plan to outlaw atomic weapons must be based on effective measures of inspection, and any system of inspection must provide for *continuous* international supervision, which the USSR has so far resisted."

Four central facts seem indisputable. (1) The Republic of Korea is a legitimate government and the only such in Korea. It was set up by valid elections, is recognized by the United Nations and by more than 30 member states of the UN. (2) The North Korean regime, dominated by Communists, launched a well-planned military assault on this government. Fifty-two member states of the UN support the Security Council in denouncing this aggression. (3) The Republic was militarily vulnerable and even with US-UN aid, has suffered initially crushing defeat. (4) This attack is an instance of Communist offensive for defeat of the West, an offensive which has been thus far generally successful.

But each of these facts require qualifications, and can be understood only against a background of great complexity. A short review such as this can only indicate the nature of some of these complexities.

Birth of the Republic

Behind the birth of the Korean Republic, August 15, 1948, in consequence of elections held May 10, lies a long, noble, and more recently tragic history: a high culture developed over a continuous history of 4,000 years, brutal subjugation by the Japanese for 35 years, "liberation" by the Americans and Russians which exchanged one master for two in 1945, internal strife ever since, in part the result of conflict between Koreans themselves, in greater part the result of the world-wide contest between Russia and the West.

The Republic's birth, with the American Military Government as midwife, was so bungled as virtually to guarantee it to be so defective as to have little prospect of survival. "It is difficult to imagine any long-range situation here in which the

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DP Resettlement Program Moves

Forward

Charles S. Sowder, associate director of the department of Displaced Persons of Church World Service, Inc., reports that as of July 1, 1950, 15,000 Protestant and Orthodox DPs had been resettled in the United States, as against only a scant 1,200 a year ago.

Sponsors who had signed assurances and were disappointed over the long delay in arrival of their DPs will understand the situation when it is said that by November 1949, when the prospect was bright for the arrival of from 3,000 to 5,000 DPs per month, the Commission found it necessary to slow down the entire movement in order to overtake the serious shortage in farm workers required by law. This reduced clearances for CWS cases by about 80 per cent over the period April-December. The new legislation cancels this quota requirement.

Under the amended Displaced Persons Act 341,000 DPs, plus some 54,000 Ethnic Germans (expellees from non-German lands) will be admitted. Of these 341,000, 296,500 will be DPs in Germany, Austria and Italy; 500 will be recent political refugees; 5,000 IRO orphans in Germany, Austria and Italy under 16 of years. Some 5,000 other orphans under 10 years of age from 17 countries will be included, together with 2,000 former residents of of Venezia-Guilia, 4,000 former Shanghai residents, 18,000 Poles now in England, and 10,000 Greeks. The Department of State is responsible for the Shanghai Refugees, the Greeks and the Poles. The remainder — 309,000 — are the responsibility of the DP Commission which will look to the Voluntary Agencies, such as CWS, for assistance in placing these people. The Voluntary Agencies will also be looked to for assistance in finding homes for the 54,000 German Ethnic.

Mr. Sowder estimates that the new law will double the number of Protestant and Orthodox refugees compared to that under the previous law. It was estimated that 40,000 would be assisted to resettle in the U.S. It is now estimated that the number will be at least 80,000. Visas will not be issued beyond June 30, 1951.

Washington Round-Up

Support Needed for Genocide Pact

Reports from Washington say that strong support is urgent if the Genocide Pact is to be ratified by the Senate at this session. It was approved by a subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee on May 26, but no action has yet been taken by the committee as a whole, due to preoccupation with Korean situation. The convention has already been ratified by fourteen nations, but it is now held up awaiting action by the U.S. Senate.

Letters urging immediate action should go to Senator Tom Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, to your own two Senators, and to Senator Scott Lucas, chairman of the Senate Democratic Policy Committee.

The Korean Situation

The following observations on the Korean situation come from an official of the State Department who must, for obvious reasons, remain unidentified. It can be said, however, that he comes from a missionary family with long experience in the Orient and has himself served in Asia with relief agencies since the end of World War II. The following views expressed are important as insights into the mind of official Washington:

1. MacArthur's visit to Chiang kai-Shek is regarded by the State Department as a big mistake. The Department has leaned over backward to avoid giving to either Communist China or southeast Asia the impression that the U.S. is on Chiang's side.

2. He is of the opinion that World War III is already on. This opinion is not shared by other competent Washington observers who believe that the assumption that war is inevitable is both dangerous and unnecessary. These observers say that this assumption rests on two convictions that are as fallacious as they are dangerous — that the U.S. has the potential military strength for a global war against Russia and her satellites, including China; and that we would have the unqualified support of most of Europe, Asia and Africa in such a war. The observer whom we are quoting, however, believes that we shall not be forced into any such global war, but that Russia will attempt to bleed us white by instigating attacks on the fringes where we will feel we must resist.

3. He says that neither military nor economic aid will win the people of Asia to our side. They are suspicious of economic help which seems to them to be an attempt to impose upon them what we think is a higher level of living. We must, he says, adopt a new approach and seek to understand as completely as possible the Oriental mind with respect to the problems we seek to solve.

4. India, he says, will not fight Communist China. India's support of the UN-US action in Korea is based on the assumption that it is a different problem from that of China. However, he believes in this Nehru is mistaken and that in both countries the problem is the same — international Communism.

5. One interesting observation was that Senator McCarthy's charges in the Senate had much to do with the decision of the North Koreans to attack. McCarthy gave Asia the impression that the U.S. is infested with Communists in high places and that the country is in a serious state of disunity.

To Tax College-Owned Businesses

To correct the recently revealed practice of certain individuals and corporations of donating to colleges and universities and other foundations, large business and other holdings and then leasing them back in order to escape taxation, H.R. 8920 has been introduced to impose the corporation tax on the net incomes of such businesses. In several instances real estate, department stores, and even large industries have been "given" to educational and charitable agencies, under whose ownership they become tax-exempt, and then leased back to the donors for a period of years at an annual lease rental less than the amount the private owners had been paying to the government in the form of taxes. The proposed legislation would subject such businesses to the net income tax if they were not related to the function of the organization. Religious organizations would remain tax-exempt. President Harold E. Stassen, of the University of Pennsylvania, appeared before the Senate Committee on Finance to oppose the bill, claiming that the provision would give the Treasury the authority to decide which fields universities may or may not enter, through the device of classifying businesses as "related" and "not related," which, he claimed would be in effect government censorship of educational agencies. If some such legislation is not to be enacted, colleges, universities and foundations must clear themselves of the implication that by accepting such gifts they are aiding and abetting tax evasions for individuals and corporations.

End of Indian Wardship Proposed

H. J. Res. 490, to end Indian wardship introduced by Mrs. Reva Bosone, of Utah, with the approval of the Department of the Interior and the Indian Bureau, has been approved by the House Committee on Public Lands. The bill provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall study and classify all Indian tribes, bands and groups in the U.S. to determine which are ready to manage their own affairs and which are not. For those deemed ready to manage their own affairs the Secretary shall submit legislation to remove controls. If he finds any groups unready he must report that fact, stating reasons for the conclusion.

Farm Tenant Loan Insurance

H.R. 7268, which has passed the House and has been sent to the Senate, increases from \$100,000,000 annually to \$200,000,000 the upper limit for insuring loans to tenants under the Farm Tenant Act. The maximum loan per farmer is also increased from \$3,500 to \$7,000. This legislation will enable the Farmers Home Administration to insure an average of ten farm mortgages per year in each of the 3,000 agricultural counties of the U.S.

J.A.C.

On Social Frontiers

Christian Citizenship

The Christian Social Relations Committee of the Woman's Society for Christian Service of the Indianapolis district of the Methodist Church has undertaken to see that every Methodist woman in the district is registered as a voter for the autumn election. Members of the committee call upon Methodist women and accompany them to the courthouse registration office where they supply registration information. The program is non-partisan and is designed to get every Methodist woman interested in her citizenship responsibilities.

* * *

Catholics Give Bicycles to Refugee Pastors

The National Catholic Welfare Conference has sent 1,000 bicycles to refugee Catholic pastors in Western Germany, according to *The July Information Bulletin*, the monthly magazine published by the Office of the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany. The bicycles and gifts of clothing and money were made possible by Catholic women's societies in the U.S. The pastors selected were heads of parishes that fled as groups from the East zone to the West to escape Soviet persecution. The 1,000 parishes whose pastors received bicycles have been adopted by 1,000 parish and welfare groups in the U.S. It is reported that 2,300 pastors fled the East zone with part or all of their parishioners. Since the war the NCWC has distributed more than 40 million pounds of food, clothing and medical supplies to DPs, refugees and the needy in Germany.

* * *

Convention Resolutions

A great convention of another denomination was on in the midwest last month. The hour had come for discussion of the resolutions, and one pastor was heard to say to another, "Why should we get excited; they do not matter anyhow." A quiet man just behind the two leaned ahead and said, "Pardon me, but the United States Government thinks enough of them to pay my way out here to hear them read." The State Department official who related this story to the editor early in June, said the two pastors later quizzed him at length, amazed that the U.S. Department of State took seriously the actions of church groups. Yes! Resolutions do matter, when we make them matter. *News Briefs, Council of Christian Social Progress.*

* * *

Southern Baptist Students Urge Negro Admissions

In April the trustees of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, were presented a petition from the student body urging that Negro students be admitted to study in the seminary on the same basis as other students. The petition was supported by a survey of student opinion, showing that from 28 states, 714 students voted affirmatively,

Review of the Labor Year

For many years it has been the custom of *Social Action News-Letter* to publish a review of the labor year. This feature is designed to keep before the churches the progress being made by organized labor in its fight for decent wages, hours, working conditions and living standards.

The year 1949-1950 saw some important gains.

First in importance for all workers was the 75-cent an hour minimum wage law that went into effect on January 25, 1950. Prior to that date 40-cents per hour was the figure for all workers engaged in industries interstate commerce. Labor Secretary Maurice J. Tobin estimated that the increase affected 1,500,000 workers. Exemptions, however, leave something like 20½ million workers without this protection. These are employes in retail or service establishments, laundries and cleaning shops, retail establishments producing goods to be sold on the premises, and similar businesses.

A second important development was the fight of labor organizations to rid themselves of Communist-led unions. The CIO in its annual convention at Cleveland, October 31 - November 4, 1949 expelled the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, the third largest of the CIO organizations, on the ground that it was Communist controlled. A new union, the International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, was chartered to oppose the old UE. The Farm Equipment workers, which merged its membership with UE just before the convention, was also expelled and ten other left-wing affiliates were refused representation on the CIO executive board.

The activities of unions during the year was centered on pensions, with \$100 per month retirement the goal. The purpose of these drives was more to compel Congress to increase the Old-Age and Survivor's insurance feature of the Social Security Act than to secure such pensions from industry. The surest way to get Congress to act was to write \$100 per month pensions into union contracts. In one or two instances the pension has been set at \$125 per month. Legislation now pending will increase Social Security benefits to the \$100 minimum.

Something new is the five-year CIO-GM contract, with its no-strike clause and provisions for wage raises in relation to living costs.

The second National Conference on the Church and Economic Life in Detroit was another high-light of the labor year, marking a further step in the church's concern for economic life.

only 13 in the negative, and 27 with no opinion. The trustees received the report favorably and promised to give careful consideration to all problems involved.

A Missionary Candidate Looks At The Housing Problems

Editor's Note: The following article comes from the pen of Vern Rossman, missionary candidate now in his third year of study at Yale Divinity School for the B.D. degree. Mr. Rossman is spending his second summer at Flanner House, Indianapolis, analyzing and classifying records and assisting in construction plans for Flanner Homes, the project described in this article.

There are some houses that no "heap o' livin'" will make into a home. We've known for a long time that ratty tenements, leaky, earth-floored tenant shacks breed disease, sap initiative, blight the bodies, minds and spirits of young and old alike. Yet much remains to be learned about how to deal with such needs.

The apostle of good housing cries: "New houses make new people!" His opponent trumpets: "Changed conditions don't change people!" Both are right; both are wrong.

Flanner House, with its long-standing motto, "Help people help themselves!" is experimenting in a project which seeks to build people — the social environment — while reconstructing the physical environment.

Flanner House began by leading the way to slum clearance legislation for a section of Indianapolis. With the help of the American Friends Service Committee and interested local citizens, a Division of Housing was added to the organization. Groups of Negro veterans began meeting weekly, under the guidance of a community organizer, planning to build their houses.

After several battles and many delays lots are now available. Twenty-one families will soon begin to build their homes, guided by skilled supervisors, financed by Flanner Homes, Inc., an independent, non-profit corporation, especially organized for the project. When the houses are completed they will be financed over a twenty year period under regular credit agencies. Flanner Homes will be repaid its investment, and the ownership of the homes will pass to the individual.

Out of this experience will come much more than houses. Through the group meetings, the experience of democratic self-government, study and planning of various phases of community organization and life, will come a group of stable, cooperative families who can maintain the new physical environment, stimulate surrounding areas to improvement, and provide trained leadership for new and larger dreams of Flanner House.

This project counts as one of a small but growing group of pilot experiments over the country — attempts to harness the insights of new technological knowledge of sociology, social psychology and religious and moral principles and integrate them toward meeting the basic needs of humans.

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Korea

(Cont'd from P 1, C 3)

Russians won't win out," wrote Harold J. Noble from Seoul (*Saturday Evening Post*, Aug. 31, 1946). And a member of Lt. Gen. J. R. Hodge's AMG staff, using the pseudonym of Will Hamlin, reported in the *Nation* (Mar. 1, 1947), "The American Military Government is doing all it can drive Korea into communism, although up to a few months ago the people plainly preferred some form of democratic socialism."

When the American Forces arrived, September 8, 1945, Lt. Gen. J. R. Hodge summarily deposed the emergency government which had been organized by Lyuh Woon-hyung to deal with the complete chaos that followed the Japanese surrender a month earlier. Lyuh was one of Korea's modern revolutionary heroes, completely unimpeachable and actively anti-communist. Instead of building on this foundation, the AMG re-instituted the old Japanese regime, and the same police forces that held terror over the Koreans under the Japanese, "kept order" for some months for the Americans.

This order, according to Roger N. Baldwin who later inspected the situation, was kept by "terrorists of the right" (*The Nation*, Aug. 2, 1947). Conditions changed little under the Interim Assembly which took limited powers November 4, 1946. And when the elections were held (May 1948) which set up the Republic, they were boycotted by all "middle parties" from the moderates to the democratic socialists, the Communists having been previously eliminated. Stewart Meacham, for a time adviser to AMG in Seoul, says, "Syngman Rhee's regime has been marked by an intensification of the police state character of the South Korean government."

The election of May 30, 1950 returned less than 50 legislators committed to support Rhee out of a total of 210, giving Rhee what *Time* called, "a personal and tactical blow." This election was postponed from March and held only after the U.S. State Department brought pressure on Rhee to go through with it.

Some observers believe this election was the final factor that determined the decision of the Communists to strike on June 25, for it gave promise that the Republic was, after a long struggle, in position to grapple successfully with the economic and social factors which the Communists had exploited so well, — particularly problems of land reform, which the earlier regimes had ignored or bungled.

Younghill Kang, whom the *United Nations World* calls "probably the most famous Korean alive," holds three groups responsible for this tragic era: first, "a few cynical political leaders who have betrayed both their people and the American Army," and second, "American missionaries who, brought back to advise the Army, unwisely chose reactionaries for positions of power" many of whom had previously grown rich as collaborators of the Japanese and now grew richer by collaborating with the Americans. And be-

hind both these groups, the US State Department, which is primarily responsible for foreign policy" (*UN World*, May 1948).

The Military Debacle

If the Republic and the United States, its sponsor, were in a desperate political situation as just indicated, they seem to have been in even a worse situation militarily. While no credence whatever can be given the Soviet charge in the Security Council that the South initiated military action, it certainly had threatened to do so. The Defense Minister, Sihng Sung Mo, was quoted by the New York *Herald Tribune* (Nov. 1, 1949) as saying that his army was "ready and waiting to invade Communist North Korea," and was being restrained only by the American advisors. Also President Rhee was quoted at the same time as saying "If we have to settle this thing by war, we will do all the fighting needed." The Foreign Minister, Chang Taik-sang, declared that his government intended to unify Korea, and if the people of the North should resist "we must conquer them" (*Christian Century*, Jan. 5, 1950). It is significant, however, that President Rhee immediately dismissed Chang, probably as a result of American pressure.

These gestures were obviously made from weakness, not strength. But they indicate one of the dilemmas the United States faced: if we provided enough military power to make the Republic safe, we would probably precipitate an attack on the North; if we did not do so, we left the South subject to attack. But American vacillation and indecision can not all be accounted for by difficulties inherent in the situation. Capt. Liddell Hart, noted British military authority, holds America responsible, in that we apparently planned to withdraw from Korea (our occupation was officially ended June, 1949), and then decided to go back in.

This vacillation represents a deep conflict within our whole Asian policy — in some respects between the Department of Defense, which in this case apparently regarded holding Korea not worth the price, and the Department of State, which for political reasons felt obligated to hold Korea. Stewart and Joseph Alsop credit President Truman with breaking an impasse in the National Security Council on this question by voting with the Army to give it up, a decision on which he reversed himself on June 25, after the Communist attack. Under these circumstances it is ludicrous for Senator Taft to call for the resignation of Secretary Acheson on the ground that he had failed in the Korean situation.

The Administration is certainly culpable in its Asian policy and performance, primarily because it has not had a consistent policy and effectual strategy for supporting the liberal elements in their effort to lead the indigenous revolution in progress throughout Asia, not because it has failed to support such reactionary elements as represented by Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek. We have unfortunately become the victim of Com-

munist strategy, at least in the eyes of multitudes in Asia, the purposes of which, as stated by John Foster Dulles after his recent tour of Korea and Japan, is to put us in the position of "fighting the anti-colonial aspirations of Asia and the Pacific."

From this position we must quickly and effectually extricate ourselves. In the words of *The Nation* (July 8, 1950), "If this country hopes to play the role of liberator in Asia, it will have to tie its intervention in Korea to a far more drastic and revolutionary policy than it has pursued in the past. And it will have to do so now, while the fighting is on."

W.W.S.

A Missionary (Cont'd from P 3)

The central concern is "people," not houses. The way it is done is fully as important as *what* is done. The people are not just passive recipients; they are active participants. The houses are not only theirs but they are the work of their hands.

In the broad world-wide program of basic education proposed by UNESCO, a central factor is the active participation of the people being reached in all phases of the program. The literacy program is not on *for* the people; community leadership is utilized, indigenous teachers are trained; those who learn go on to teach. Public health is not an extra burden imposed from above, but a task of and by the whole community.

Individual and social redemption means more than new houses, healthy bodies, trained minds. It involves the instilling of new values in minds and hearts, the construction of self-sufficiency, moral integrity and unselfishness in individuals, along with new institutions through which these values can find constant expression and meaning in new communities of cooperating people.

And toward the peace of the world, what can be more constructive than when black, white, yellow, brown — across economic and social lines — all can join hands to defeat poverty, ignorance, disease and say, "We did it together!"

—Vern Rossman

National Temperance Organizations Unite

Two national temperance organizations, the Temperance League of America (formerly Anti-Saloon League of America), and the National Temperance Movement, Inc., with headquarters in Chicago, have voted to unite into a single temperance movement to be known as the National Temperance League, Inc. The uniting convention will be held November 19-20, 1950 in Des Moines, Iowa.

This movement is designed to bring into one organization the national temperance forces of the United States, other than temperance boards of religious bodies, and to revitalize temperance education and action in this country. All religious bodies are being invited to participate by sending delegates.